HELP SAVE 2 PEOPLE FROM SYNGMAN RHEE'S BUTCHERS - - - See Page 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
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Vol. 6, No. 23 NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 29, 1954

WASHINGTON

Ike's soak-the-poor plan on taxes is most brazen steal since Coolidge's day

By Victor Perlo

THE first real Congressional fight of the Eisenhower Administration has developed over taxes. It had to come because important tax increases enacted during the Korean War expired January 1 or will expire Apr. 1. It is a real fight because the labor movement, hit by unemployment, is exerting political pressure on economic issues, and the Democratic Party needs labor support in 1954 elections.

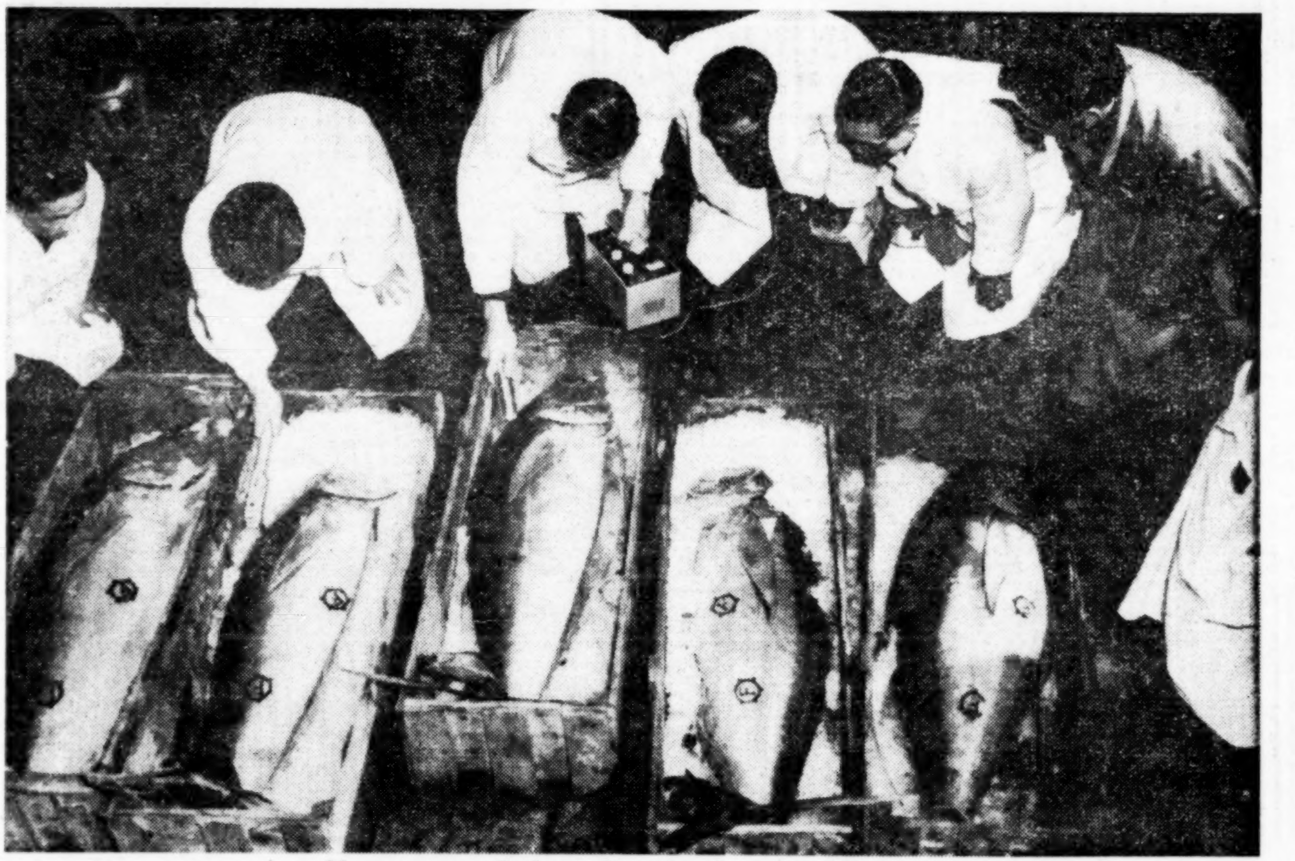
Korean War revenue acts sharply increased excise, income, and social security payroll taxes. The income tax rise was heavier on lower than on higher incomes or corporations. The over-all federal tax burden on wage-earners became heavier than during World War II, that on the wealthy remained lighter. Between fiscal 1949 and calendar year 1953, income taxes collected from corporations and upper-income individuals rose 55%, those withheld from workers' paychecks 167%. Of 1953 federal tax collections, $37 billion came from working people, $32 billion from upper-income groups and corporations.

The first big Eisenhower tax cut, of $5 billion, went into effect January 1. It eliminated the excess profits tax on corporations, and part of the rise in individual income taxes, but not that part which hurt workers most. At the same time old-age insurance taxes were hiked ½%, so that combined payroll taxes for workers' family heads with income under $3,500 were increased. The net gain was all to the wealthy, with a net loss to the poor.

LUXURY TAX CUT: Two tax bills are before Congress. The excise bill cuts some of the higher "luxury" taxes down to 10%, but leaves intact over a billion per year in Korean War increases on basic items such as cigarettes, gasoline and autos. Without a new law, these would expire April 1. Treasury Secy. Humphrey has publicly opposed **any** excise tax cuts. But Republican Congressional leaders play along with the partial cut for **their** election propaganda, and because some industrial backers want cuts for their products. Democratic Senators George and Douglas are calling for minor further excise cuts, but not for complete elimination of the war increases.

This bill, passed by the House and reported out of the Senate Finance Committee with minor additions, is likely to be passed by the Senate next month. Wires to your Senator, if in time, should ask for further cuts and complete elimination of all Korean War excise increases. The President

(Continued on Page 4)



Have you a Geiger Counter in your kitchen?

If tuna fish figures in your menu, and it is packed in Japan, better get one now that the ¾ of what you pay in taxes is going for bigger and bigger bangs in the Pacific fisheries area. These fish in a Tokyo market are being stamped "safe" by Welfare Ministry professors following the latest H-Bomb test which radio-activized an unknown quantity of tuna.

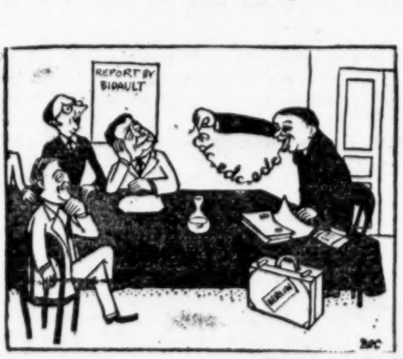
WAR & PEACE

Japan in uproar as U.S. H-Bomb affects 1,000-mile area; Washington's meddling in Indo-China perils Geneva parley

By Tabitha Petran

TO the relaxation of world tension which was widely noted at year's end, and measurably increased by the Berlin conference, Washington had given its answer. Its H-bomb explosion in the Pacific, 250-600 times greater than Hiroshima, punctuated new boasts about its "new-look" strategy of "instant massive retaliation." This "pretty desperate doctrine" (Alsops, 2/26) was outlined in Secy. Dulles' Jan. 12 speech, which high government sources off-the-record called "the most important speech that Mr. Dulles has ever made or is every likely to make" (Chester Bowles, N. Y. **Times**, 2/28).

A rash of reports on the readiness of U.S. African and European bases served "sharper notice than ever that the U.S. is prepared for instant atomic warfare" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 3/3). The President's "right" to launch it is re-asserted—in face of allied protests—in the current Dulles-Eisenhower-Joint Chiefs attempt to refine the "new look."



Humanite, Paris

"This is the new American bubble gum."

A HEAP OF TROUBLE: The re-assertion came as business activity continued to slide (already more than in the 1949 recession); as the Geneva conference with China impended, with its dilemmas posed by French desire to end the Indo-China war; as demand for normal relations with China, and the campaign against the European Army, grew in allied countries. Faced with all this, Washington again sought to intensify the cold war (its preparations for world war) and expand the hot war.

Moscow's **Pravda** (NYT, 3/18) saw the U.S. "trying to set things up in Indo-China so that neither the Geneva nor any other conference could bring peace to that land." The warning seemed underlined by an unusual Saturday Presidential conference (3/20) with top military and diplomatic officials on the "military and political crises" arising out of Indo-China (NYT, 3/21), following a lunch with Gen. MacArthur and the Administration's refusal to say it would not send troops to Indo-China. Dulles and the Joint Chiefs were dis-

(Continued on Page 4)

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NEXT WEEK: FULL REPORT ON THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL FARMERS UNION IN DENVER

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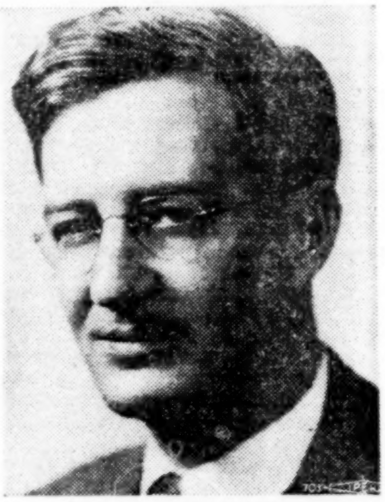
Vol. 6, No. 23 178 MARCH 29, 1954

REPORT TO READERS

A blow for liberty

THE MOST HEARTENING NEWS in a month of Sundays was the story in last Sunday's papers of Clifford Durr throwing a punch at the lying head of stoolpigeon Paul Crouch at a Jenned Committee hearing in New Orleans. Mr. Durr and his wife, Virginia (who was the object of Crouch's lying), are known and loved from one end of this land to the other. Clifford Durr was a member of the Federal Communications Commission in the New Deal years and is one of the nation's top lawyers. Virginia Durr has been the South's most gracious advocate of human decency, as a leader of the fight on the poll tax and an originator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Durrs are in-laws of Supreme Court Justice Black—which indicates how very near the top the Jenner Committee is aiming in its determination to destroy the men and women—and indeed the blessed memory—of the Roosevelt years.



CLIFFORD DURR

CLIFFORD DURR is not a well man; a back ailment laid him low a few years back and in recent months he has been under care of a heart specialist. It might have been his last blow for liberty, but he aimed it regardless—and it is this corner's guess that cheers rang out in living rooms all over the land when the news came over the radio last week-end. We'd give a pretty to have heard the explosion in McNeill's Island pen when two-fisted Vincent Hallinan got the blow-by-blow account.

YOU MAY HAVE COMMENTS, and we are sure the Durrs would like to receive them. We won't publish their address but we'll gladly forward your letters.

And while you're writing—don't forget this is still the month we have begged and plagued you to send us one new, introductory reader at $1 for a six-month sub. A handy sub blank is just across the page.

—THE EDITORS.

THE MAIL BAG

Velde's hot seat

CHICAGO, ILL.

Congratulations on your new and enlarged paper. In these dark days it's a distinct pleasure and surprise to see a liberal publication expanding its coverage, instead of contracting.

I was particularly interested in your article on Velde. It's quite true that he likely will be defeated in the primary election next month. Apparently he realizes it, to, and has felt the need for some headlines in the local press.

Accordingly, he has just concluded two days of hearings by a three-man subcommittee of his House Un-American Activities Committee. Six witnesses were summoned to testify in public sessions; all were informers, or "friendly" witnesses, as the newspapers refer to them.

However, Velde's play 'for votes may not work. There is genuine feeling against him.

Richard Morgan

Keeping up with us

SEATTLE WASH.

Jacking up the number of pages in the GUARDIAN, eh? If you can give more, so can I. I double my pledge to $10 a month.

Lyle Mercer

Turning point for Joe?

NEW YORK, N Y.

Many courageous progressives are less active than they might be because they fail to see concrete proof of the effectiveness of their work. Thus, it is difficult to point to a direct connection between the persistent peace work of progressives and the truce in Korea. Therefore, when a demonstrable connection does exist between the efforts of progressives and positive political results it is important that this be recognized, as a stimulus to further work.

The present reversal in the fortunes of Joe McCarthy is a major case in point His Senate career was an unbroken climb for three years until, on March 24 of last year, he opened his probe of the Overseas Libraries. In the weeks that followed, a series of progressive authors exposed him in his committee room in a manner that roused national support to the point of compelling Eisenhower finally to say: "Don't join the book-burners!"

It is particularly significant to me as a writer that the American people, so often called "uncultured," rose to battle against McCarthy for the first time in defense of freedom to write and be read.

William Mandel

How crazy can you get dept.

ROBINSON, Ill. (UP)—William McClure, Robinson auctioneer, was arrested and taken before Justice Albert Wilson on a charge of mutilating auto license plates. He cut the slogan "Land of Lincoln" off his 1954 Illinois tags.

"McClure told me he was planning a fishing trip to Tennessee and was afraid if he went down there with that slogan on his plates they'd bust the windows out of his car," said Wilson, who fined McClure $5 and costs.

—Chicago Sun-Times.

One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner (who sent clipping undated): Roy Pleasant, Chicago.

More Guardian records!

BOSTON, MASS.

I am in full agreement with the letter by Raymond Rector of Muskogee, Okla., (3/8) who voiced an appeal for more LP recordings by GUARDIAN people and other prominent progressives.

I have been thinking of the impact records of this nature could have on Americans who do not have the opportunity of reading an antidote to the press-poison.

If the GUARDIAN could sponsor a monthly series on current developments and their implications, these records could be used for gatherings, club meetings and as an introduction of friends to the GUARDIAN.

I personally would relish hearing Tabitha Petran analysing the current economic picture. Let's get a bunch of people to pledge support for a venture of this nature. I think it would go over big.

Incidentally here is my buck for a copy of hte Bill of Rights Record.

R. B.

Denver does it again

DENVER, COLO.

"It is with pleasure" that this $60 check—equal to five bucks-a-month for a year—is sent. It represents income from a recent little private dinner and it includes the subscriptions attached. Incidentally, the "program" following dinner was playing the record of the GUARDIAN's 5th birthday celebration. New subs came almost voluntarily after hearing that outstanding recording.

Your wonderful All-Luminum Fold-A-Way Table recently purchased from your Buying Service made it easily possible to serve eight additional dinner guests. That table is really grand to own; and well worth the $16.45 price.

Marion Ulmer

The Indo-China war

MARTINS FERRY, O.

The Indo-China war is not a far against communism or anything else; it is a war for posession of the fabulous natural wealth of that nation. The policy of the U.S. government is not only to prevent those resources from being grabbed by a communist nation, but also to oust France from the position she seeks to continue to occupy in Indo-China. Then the U.S will take over for the sole benefit of American investors.

That will mean an increased tax load for American taxpayers, while those who are doing the nation's work (which is necessary for the production of more wealth as a basis for more taxation) will continue so to do, probably at an accelerated pace, while said investors profit at their expense.

George F. Curry

P
E
A
C
E
Fellow

Old Age Assistance

CHICAGO, ILL.

Been through a long siege of illness at the local county hospital and a so-called "rest home." Have just been restored to the O.A.A. rolls and once more the sun is shining. I am crowding 75 and the O.A.A. is of utmost importance to me (there are 120,000 of us in Illinois) and I hope that in the new enlarged edition you may on occasion find a small space to mention us dolesters.

There are also other papers who never seem to find room for any discussion of our uncertain status, and the difficulties we have to contend with: low maximum, high rent, high cost of food, leave very little for clothing or enjoyment.

E. Piper

On his two feet

— — —, MASS.

As a government employe I take a chance when I write to you—and when I subscribe to your paper. But I cannot live on my knees—I must stand up. I take the chance and try to help you as much as I can.

I do want Vincent Hallinan to know that I (and probably many, many others) admire him as a great man in this day of little men. He is an inspiration to the rest of us, just as you fellows on the GUARDIAN are. May he and you fellows live long enough to see your persecutors shown up for what they are. I read the story of Hallinan's family life written by his wife—it was wonderful. I love the whole family.

Name withheld

"Down with Her Majesty"

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.

Maybe it's a long way from Hyde Park, London, to N.Y. Post, to GUARDIAN Mail Bag, to Moscow and back to Mail Bag, and maybe it's not very important anyway; but let's put the record straight.

A mail-bagger quoted, as an example of non-American normality, the N.Y. Post story of film star Dennis O'Keefe being told by a Hyde Park bobby to switch off his car motor because a speaker blasting the government couldn't be heard.

I wasn't in Hyde Park at the time. But neither was the car, for no one can get that near to the speakers. Neither, therefore, was O'Keefe, and neither — absolutely neither — was the speaker who was railing "Down with Sir Winston and down with Her Majesty." As an old down-wither myself I must point out that for all down-with purposes Churchill is Churchill and the Queen is the Queen and they shall remain so until anti-Papists start shouting "To hell with His Holiness."

But it was always a good story—like the one about the other kind of railings in Hyde Park being more sinned against than sinning.

Archie Johnstone

Marked copies

In response to the story of "The Rape of the American Indian" (Mar. 15 GUARDIAN), a Tennessee subscriber sent us the names of several Indian chiefs, postage stamps and a request to send them marked copies.

If you note any story in future issues which has special meaning to certain people, please do as our Tennessee friend has done.

George Evans
Circulation Dept.

Evidence of sanity

LEISTON, ENGLAND

May I take this opportunity of telling you how much I, and the circle of friends with whom I share the paper, enjoy the presentation of news in your journal and your fierce courage in continuing with your work. It is the only evidence we have in this country that there is still sanity, balance and a respect for the aspirations of humans in the U.S.A.

David Gibbons

Let Congress know

"Congress cannot be written off. New opportunities are opening for progressives to fight on issues if they will only take advantage of them. Writing letters to Congressmen should be a constant thing with us."—Progressive Party secy. C. B. Baldwin, GUARDIAN, Mar. 8.

In this space we will suggest each week one specific letter you and your friends can effectively write to a Congressman. We suggest that all readers get the habit of writing at least one letter a week to Washington.

Last week Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.)—the only Senator who voted against the McCarthy Committee fund appropriation Feb. 2—was the first Senator since the witch-hunting years to stand up to the FBI. He charged it with letting its unevaluated secret files be "misused" by witch-hunt committees, said he would therefore no longer give the FBI information it seeks in its investigations.

IF YOU APPROVE, WRITE TO SEN. FULBRIGHT (Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.) AND SAY SO.

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HELP SAVE THIS COUPLE FROM RHEE'S BUTCHERS

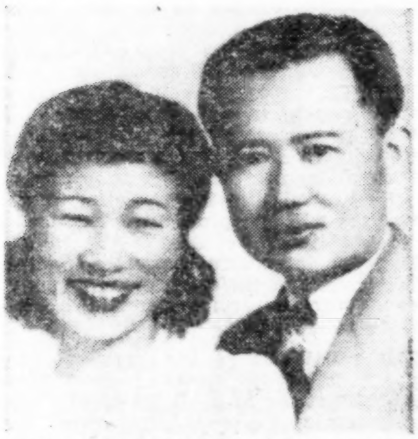
The story of Choon Cha & Chungsoon Kwak

By Cedric Belfrage

WHEN the Korean War, the bloodiest and most savage "small" war in history, was prolonged long after peace could easily have been made, the U.S. government through John Foster Dulles said this was necessary to defend a principle. The principle was that of "political asylum for prisoners of war who do not wish to return to their homelands."

In about ten days' time the same U.S. government will, unless halted by outraged Americans, return a Korean man and wife against their clearly stated desire to the hands of Syngman Rhee—and certain death.

Here is the almost incredible story. Here is the story of Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak, who today walk the streets of New York and next month may be dead or dying in Rhee's torture chambers by arrangement with Atty. Gen. Brownell's Dept. of Justice.



CHOON CHA & CHUNGSOON KWAK
In the shadow of death

MUSIC & FREEDOM: Choon Cha was born in Seoul where she majored in music at Korea's leading school for women. Chungsoon, born in Pyongyang, was a child-prodigy violinist who while at high school became concertmaster of the Seoul Central Symphony Orchestra; he graduated from Chosun Christian College in 1934. Both played as featured soloists, and their recordings sold, throughout Korea. Both took part in many strikes and demonstrations against the Japanese who then ruthlessly ruled Korea.

A special scholarship for Asian women brought Choon Cha in 1938 to the University of Michigan; in 1941 she graduated with a B.M. (music) from Ann Arbor. The next year in Ann Arbor she married Chungsoon, who had come to the U.S. for further musical studies and graduated in 1940 from the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago. (Later he studied political science, graduated with a B.S. from Columbia University in 1949.)

In Chicago Chungsoon was secy. of the local branch of the Korean Natl. Assn., an organization in the U.S. and Hawaii pledged to end Japanese rule of Korea, and representing Korean emigrants opposed to the faction of Syngman Rhee (then also in the U.S.). Moving to New York in Sept., 1942, Chungsoon became pres. of the Korean Student Fedn., eastern division; he was also chairman of the trustee board of the local Korean church, where Choon Cha was choirmaster.

AMERICA CHANGES: The Kwaks' outstanding leadership made it natural for the U.S. government to seek their services in the war against Japan; the Korean emigrants, whose country's freedom from the hated Japanese depended on the war's outcome, had a vital role to play. They first served in the censorship office; in 1943 Chungsoon became head of the U.S. armed forces' Information & Education Divn., Korean unit, with Choon Cha as assistant. There they directed editing and publication of all Korean-language material, compiled maps, dictionaries, language aids which the U.S. armed forces urgently needed. After the war they served in the State Dept.'s Voice of America.

Chungsoon's work was rated "excellent"—but U.S. policy changed from a united stand against fascism to cold war against socialism, and one day in June, 1949, he was fired. Choon Cha resigned.

The Kwaks were no longer useful to a Washington which had set up the violently anti-democratic Syngman Rhee as President of the southern half of a divided Korea. Chungsoon had openly fought Rhee since 1943, when he began calling for dissolution of the Rhee clique in Washington. Opposing from the outset the division of Korea, the Kwaks had refused to register as South Korean nationals. When the Korean War began, they advocated non-intervention. Their implacable opposition to Rhee was repeatedly set forth in the California weekly **Korean Independence**, whose UN correspondent Chungsoon has been since 1952. There was as little doubt about it as there was and is about the action Rhee would take against such opponents if he got hold of them.

Will you do these two things today?

The GUARDIAN has told the true story of Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, who today stand at the crossroad of death and life.

Murder is about to be committed. It can be stopped. It was stopped only recently in the case of Manuel Cuevas Dias (see below, this page). You can help stop it by:

1. Mustering every humane person you know to wire protests to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C.

2. Sending whatever you can to help pay the big legal expenses that still must be incurred, and for which no funds are now available. Send to Chungsoon Kwak, c/o Ira Gollobin, Rm. 2508, 1441 Broadway, N. Y. C. 18.

THEY "OVERSTAYED": Under a law passed by Congress in 1947 the Kwaks—who since 1942 were in the U.S. on student visas, but were transferred to visitor status when the government wanted their services—were entitled after seven years' residence to apply for permanent residence. They made their application before August, 1948, when the last of their visitors' visa extensions (previously granted in a routine way) was due to expire.

Until Sept., 1949, they awaited action on the application. Then it came: the Immigration Dept. converted the application for permanent residence into deportation proceedings. When a hearing was held, the hearing officer said the Kwaks were of excellent moral character and had rendered the U.S. loyal service; the ground for deportation was that they had "overstayed their visitors' permit." As Chungsoon puts it:

> "We were blamed—a most curious form of logic—for not having something which it is only in the government's power to grant, and on which that government had not acted."

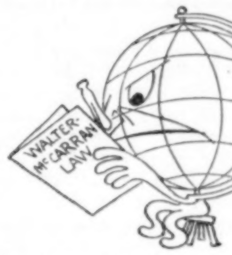
BLOOD FOR DOLLARS: The Kwaks appealed for reversal of the deportation order and for voluntary departure to a place of their own choosing. Denial of this in April, 1951, was based on "confidential information," they were told. In Sept., 1951, they were arrested at their home and held on Ellis Island for two weeks.

Since then they have been on bail, reporting at the Island every two weeks, working in obscure, routine jobs to maintain themselves. In Oct., 1951, a stay in the deportation order was requested under the Internal Security Act provision precluding deportation if physical persecution would result. At the hearing on this in April, 1953, they produced documentary proof of their 10-years opposition to Rhee and stated:

> "No one can seriously deny the existence of a war situation in Korea today. As for ourselves, we are citizens of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea [N. Korea] . . . We believe and we did say and write publicly that Syngman Rhee and his cohorts are the enemies of the Korean people . . . [that they] were collecting dollars by putting Korean flesh and blood on the auction block. . . . As the enemies of the Korean people, [they] are our enemies. They know it as well as we do."

10 DAYS TO GO: The Kwaks pointed out then and since that the violence and death meted out even to comparatively "friendly" opposition by Rhee's regime has been so blatant as to embarrass the U.S. The U.S. press has concealed most of it but occasionally, when it was too blatant, published reports—such as this from the N.Y. **Times** when in June, 1952, with an election at hand, Rhee had 11 S. Korean Assembly members arrested:

> ". . . For a time the assembly sat idle, unable to obtain a quorum, with some members jailed, some in hiding and 52 of them absent. Some others slept on the hard wooden benches of the Assembly Hall, fearing they too would be picked up by police and army guards if they emerged from the sanctuary."



Little-known aspects of the Red Menace

A diet expert said Monday he may cable Secy. of State Dulles in Berlin to watch out for a dangerous Russian secret weapon—sturgeon pie. Diplomats should be warned that the Soviets can use food as well as vodka as a political weapon, Martin Lederman said. "This sounds silly, but it's serious," he said. "Indigestion—and consequent sleeplessness—can be a secret weapon. . . ." Lederman used to be a business consultant traveling in Europe before he became a diet expert to reduce his own 250-pound bulk.

—Erie (Pa.) **Dispatch**, Feb. 3.

This month the Kwaks were ordered to surrender at Ellis Island April 7 for deportation to S. Korea. Atty. Gen. Brownell's office had ruled that there was no ground to believe physical persecution would result.

JESTING PILATE: In their own small way—against the tremendous power of the U.S. propaganda machine, and of Washington which cannot admit the cruel, corrupt reality of a regime lending itself for Washington's objectives in Asia—Chungsoon and Choon Cha are helping expose Syngman Rhee. They must be silenced. The method is as simple as Pilate's washing of his hands; Rhee needs no lessons on what to do.

The Kwaks' attorney Ira Gollobin will make a last-ditch fight by applying before April 7 to the Federal District Court for an injunction to stop the surrender order.

THIS MAN WAS SAVED FROM FRANCO'S BUTCHERS

Manuel Cuevas Diaz is safe in Guatemala

TEN years ago—in another era of its history—the U.S. welcomed as a refugee fighter against fascism a young Spanish seaman, Manuel Cuevas Diaz. He had fought gallantly with the Spanish Republican navy, then—after two years in a French N. African concentration camp—with the Free French navy in World War II.

Times changed. In 1952 the last links in a military alliance with Franco, violent overthrower of Spain's government, were being forged by Sen. Pat McCarran, author of the law to deport from the U.S. aliens charged with "conspiracy to advocate" such overthrowing. For his bases which Washington craved, Franco wanted concessions in cash and blood. In September of that year Diaz was suddenly arrested and caged on Ellis Island without bail. Later he was granted permission to leave voluntarily for Guatemala—but then the Justice Dept. decided he must go not to Guatemala, but to Franco Spain.

BATTLE FOR A LIFE: From then until last month Diaz lived in the cage, weaving Republican Spain's colors into sweaters he knitted—to keep himself occupied—for himself, his American (Puerto Rican) wife and his two American sons Antonio and Manuel Jr. Twice a week his family, who lived on relief, visited him for an hour. In the courts across the harbor the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born fought to prevent Diaz from being shipped to Spain. What was at stake was his life—yet, without connections or money, Diaz would have looked in vain anywhere else for help.

MANUEL CUEVAS DIAZ
There came life and freedom

The Justice Dept. fought to the end for its right to deliver him as a human sacrifice to Franco. When his departure for Spain became a matter of days, almost of hours, Diaz for the first time began to lose hope. But at the 11th hour the American Committee won the long battle.

THE HAPPY ENDING: Today not 1¼ but 1,793 miles of water separate Diaz from his family. They are still on relief, but happier than they have been for years. The children try to imagine what it will be like to see their father every day for ever, after he sends for them to come to him in Guatemala.

In his new home, Diaz has found work as a cook; the American Committee—busy night and day on other deportation cases involving life or death, happiness or despair for hundreds more men, women and children—reports that a group of friends are raising a fund to set him up in a little restaurant of his own—in Guatemala.

War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

cussing the dispatch of more bombers, formation of an international pilots' corps, forcing France to let the U.S. train native troops (hence, direct strategy), and "the conditions under which the U.S. would intervene directly in the war" (Reston, **NYT, 3/22**).

CONSIDER THE LETTUCE: Radioactive ashes from the H-bomb explosion were carried to unforeseen distances—affecting 28 Americans, 326 Pacific islanders and the 23-man crew of a Japanese fishing sampan, and contaminating through ocean currents eight fishing craft nearly 1,000 miles away. As Washington, fresh from these miscalculations, prepared for a still bigger H-bomb blast in April coincident with the Geneva conference, public ignorance continued about what is being done with this new power. Even the few official reports on the blast were called in question. Tokyo University's Dr. Masao Tsuzuki contradicted U.S. reports that 21 of the 23 Japanese fishermen were not seriously affected, said they were suffering "acute radiation sickness." Nothing more was heard of other victims described by U.S. officials as well and happy.

In Washington the explosion let loose a welter of rumors. **CSM**'s writer on atomic energy, Roland Sawyer, complaining of the ignorance in which Americans are kept, wrote (3/18):

> "Suppose . . . some of this radioactive dust fell upon lettuce grown in California, which was then shipped to New York, where it . . . affected consumers. This suggestion . . . is made to point out such a thing could be possible . . . films in Rochester, N.Y., were contaminated from the blasts in Nevada not long ago. . . ."

But Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are dead

It is supposed that the Russians achieved the atomic bomb sooner than we thought they would because Dr. Klaus Fuchs told them all that he had learned when he was at Los Alamos. At last week's meeting of industrialists in New York arranged by the Atomic Industrial Forum, Dr. James Beckerly, director of the Atomic Energy Commission's Classification Office, said that neither the A-bomb nor the H-bomb was stolen from us by spies and that espionage played a minor role in the success of Soviet scientists in developing atomic energy for war.

—N.Y. Times science editor Waldemar Kaempffert, March 21

"IF THE PEOPLE KNEW . . .": Security is no reason for American ignorance, Sawyer noted: the U.S.S.R. can tell "much of what is going on" by sampling the atmosphere. Dr. James Beckerly, AEC director of classification, who advised Americans (3/16) to stop kidding themselves Soviet scientists are incompetent or depend on stealing U.S. information, has warned that the present "ostrich-like" attitude on atomic secrets can lead to "a national catastrophe." Hitherto test explosions have been small, but as the blasts—either American or Soviet—get bigger radioactivity in the atmosphere increases. Sawyer hinted at the reasons for secrecy:

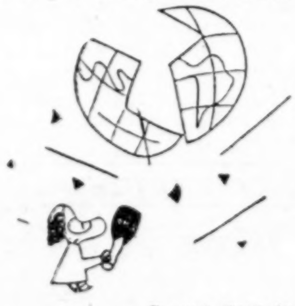
> ". . . The stuff which American atomic scientists are using at present is tremendously potent, beyond human imagination to grasp—both in blast effect and radioactivity. Perhaps if the peoples of the world could be really informed of these dangers, some say, they would demand changes in policies and politicians. Perhaps not . . . Americans have been encouraged to depend on the strength which atomic weapons provide and have been told little about the enormity of the dangers likewise involved. They are held to be in a poor position to judge."

REPERCUSSIONS: From Washington's "free world" came no new voices demanding a change in policies and politicians, outlawing of atomic war. But in Japan, where "the people literally view the incident as a third atomic bombing" (**N.Y. Herald Tribune**, 3/21), the "mishap" came "at the very time when popular resentment runs high at the rearmament program their government has agreed to undertake at insistent American prodding" (**CSM**, 3/18). The reaction, U.S. observers feared, "could generate a new wave of anti-Americanism . . . so grave as to cause Japan to re-evaluate its decision to rearm" (**NYHT**). Opposition parties demanded a world ban on all atomic tests.

Soviet nuclear and thermonuclear development has already canceled out A- and H-bombs as instruments of diplomacy, as British physicist P. M. S. Blackett pointed out (**New Statesman**, 2/13). Washington's continued attempt to exploit its bombs diplomatically indicated its bankruptcy. In the U.S.S.R.—where Premier Malenkov said (3/12) these weapons used as instruments of war mean "the destruction of world civilization"—top officials used the occasion of Supreme Soviet election campaigns to renew the peace initiative.

Malenkov denied that mankind's only alternatives are "a new world slaughter" or "continuation of the so-called cold war"; he stressed the importance of international negotiations as instruments of peace, challenged the capitalist world to "peaceful economic competition." Foreign Minister Molotov urged the West to re-study the European Security Treaty he proposed at Berlin, indicating the U.S.S.R. is prepared to discuss—and make concessions on—points the West found objectionable.

GENEVA SABOTAGE? This treaty, ignored by the U.S. press as a dead issue since Berlin, is of continuing interest in Europe—especially in France, where the moderate press has heaped extraordinary bitterness and scorn on Foreign Minister Bidault's performance at Berlin. Claude Bourdet (**L'Observateur**, 2/25), asking "whose orders Bidault is following" since he "goes against the wishes of his own country, of his own parliament," wrote:



Canard Enchaine, Paris

Launching the new bomb.

> "One cannot but fear that at Geneva [he] will systematically play the same role of saboteur he played so well in Berlin. His opposition to peace in Viet Nam seems to be total."

The Tribune des Nations—half of whose Feb. 26 issue was devoted to sardonic articles about Bidault—demanded repudiation of EDC, exploration of

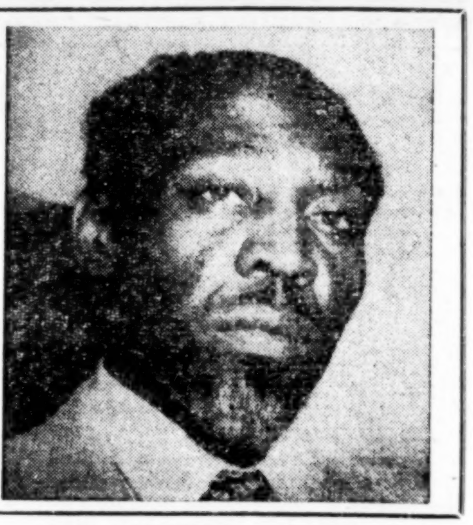
> ". . . the European collective security treaty suggested by Molotov and applicable both in the event of the present partition of Germany being prolonged, and in the event of unification. The underlying idea of this proposal is abandonment of the system of two blocs, and restoration of allied unity, to be extended also to Germany."

WELLS MUST NOT DIE!

SIX "cogent and legal, reasons" why Wesley Robert Wells should not be executed April 9 are listed by a group of California Negro lawyers in their appeal to Gov. Goodwin Knight:

- "Because he killed no one.
- "Because he was maneuvered into the position where he could be executed.
- "Because he may not have been legally and mentally responsible for his act when the cuspidor was thrown.
- "Because a 4-to-3 vote inspires no great confidence in the legal result.
- "Because the state's announced reason for the execution—that he is a dangerous man, even assuming it were true—would not justify taking a human life.
- "Because large numbers of people will continue to believe that Wells would not have been executed if he were not a Negro."

TIME RUNS OUT: Execution date is set for April 9. The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to review, but Gov. Knight can act at any time. Your letter or wire to him will help save Wesley Robert Wells. **If you think he should not die, tell Gov. Goodwin Knight, State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif.**



Ike's tax plan

(Continued from page 1)

will not veto this bill, since bigger automatic reductions would result.

THE BIG GRAVY: More important is the 90-page omnibus tax reform bill, called the most thorough revision in 50 years. This follows Eisenhower's 25-point tax program contained in his budget message. It is easily the most brazen rich man's tax steal since the days of Coolidge and Mellon. Its method is to create new and bigger tax loopholes for the wealthy on top of the existing multi-billion loopholes.

Coupon-clippers come in for the richest gravy. Dividend income gets a much lower special rate. A man with $200,000 per year, all in dividends, who now pays about 50% tax, would pay only 35% when the proposal becomes fully effective in two years. Medical deductions are boosted to $10,000, meaning the use of luxury resorts decked out as sanitariums, expensive vacations as rest cures. Corporations are given a rapid depreciation tax steal which Rep. Cooper (D-Tenn.) estimates will cost the government $19.5 billion by 1970. While the general corporate profits tax rate is kept at 52%, taxes on foreign investment super-profits are cut to 38%—a special bonanza for Standard Oil, United Fruit, General Motors and a few more giants.

EXTRA LOOPHOLES: Minor tax concessions, included for certain groups such as working widows and pensioners, are set up so as to open big loopholes to wealthy people alongside of the minor benefits to selected workers.

The Administration estimate that this bill will cost $1½ billion in revenues is the understatement of the year. Its ultimate effect will be to cut taxes on the wealthy by many billions annually.

Democratic Party leaders are opposing the Administration on this bill. While denouncing its aid-the-rich provisions, they concentrate on demanding the addition of the key "aid-the-poor" provision, raising of individual tax exemptions.

EXEMPTION FIGHT: Exemptions have been frozen at $600 for six years, while the purchasing power of the exemption has dropped. In real terms, the present exemption amounts to only two-thirds of the low wartime exemption of $500 imposed in 1942. The UAW unemployment conference late last year kicked off the fight with a demand for raising the exemption to $1,000. The Democratic proposal in the Senate, introduced by Sen. George (D-Ga.), calls for raising the exemption to $800 next year and $1,000 the following year.

Democrats proposed this as an amendment to the Administration bill in the House. On an almost straight party vote, they lost by six votes. Then most Democrats joined the Republicans in voting **for** the tax-steal bill.

This bill will be before the Senate Finance Committee for several weeks, possibly two months. There is not much time to bring the people down to Washington and change the verdict.

THE GAUNTLET: On radio-TV last week Eisenhower threw down the gauntlet for big business. He argued that raising exemptions $100 would cost $2.4 billion—an exaggeration; that money was needed to improve Social Security, health programs, housing, farm programs—but his own budget cuts spending on all these; that millions of taxpayers would be excused from paying income taxes—forgetting that the poorest pay one-fourth of their income in other taxes, many of them hidden in the prices they pay.

He argued that his tax gifts to the wealthy will encourage investment and "create" jobs. Yet despite the $5 billion "encouragement" already enacted, investment and jobs are falling because people cannot afford the ultimate products.

THE ANSWER: A big, popular campaign is needed to raise exemptions **and** defeat the 25-point tax-steal, while maintaining present corporate tax rates and closing existing loopholes instead of opening new ones. Democrats should be encouraged to step up their campaign for the higher exemptions, urged to fight to the end against the tax-steal. Nor should your Republican Senators be ignored, especially those coming up for re-election this year. **Key figures** are Senator Walter F. George (D-Ga.), and Eugene D. Millikan (R-Colo.). Other important Senators are Fulbright (D-Ark.), Humphrey (D-Minn.), Douglas (D-Ill.), and Morse (Ind-Ore.).

Whenever possible, union locals and other organizations should send delegations to Washington, and wire immediately to Sen. Millikan, Senate Finance Committee chairman, demanding a place in the hearings.

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Every American's pocket "Challenge to McCarthy"

Useful for general distribution, and right on top of the news, is the new "Basic Pamphlet" by Corliss Lamont—a **Challenge to McCarthyism** by the author and lecturer who last week was cited for contempt of Congress by McCarthy's Senate committee. (Basic Pamphlets, Box 42, Cathedral Sta., N.Y.C. 25; 5c, 12 for 50c.)

Lamont was cited with N.J. engineer Albert Shadowitz and N.Y. lawyer Abraham Unger, who also challenged the committee's authority to question them. Lamont made his challenge last September, citing the First Amendment's limitations on Congress' right to legislate and hence to investigate, and insisting the committee would trespass on powers of the judiciary by inquiring into his personal beliefs and affairs. In the pamphlet he forcefully appraises McCarthyism, tells the story of his own experience with "the most dangerous demagogue in America's history." In an easy readable form he gives Americans not hitherto picked by the inquisition the information they should have.

LABOR Warm reception awaits witch-hunters in Detroit; Flint UAW local urges defiance

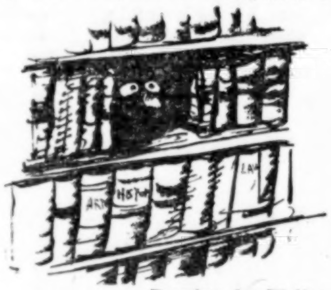
CONGRESSIONAL witch-hunters are not giving up on spy-scares and are still mightily concerned with the fields of entertainment, education, religion and the professions generally; but they are showing increased interest in labor, with the object of compiling a vast blacklist in industry.

The General Electric Co., with Sen. McCarthy's cooperation, showed how militant unionists can be "legally" fired when they put themselves beyond the pale as "Fifth Amendment Communists" by declining to co-operate with the inquisition. Until now union contracts and existing laws have prevented dismissal from employment for reasons of political beliefs or associations, past or present. But the new McCarthy-GE formula of firing employes for refusing to answer trick questions has aroused big business interest.

$64—AND OUT: Business Week (Jan. 16) reported that as a result of GE's "decision to purge its payrolls of known [sic] Communists," other companies are now "reviewing their labor relations policies." It also cited similar firings of West Coast utilities workers following hearings by a California State Senate investigating committee and quoted a happy electric company official:

> "It's the only way we can get rid of undesirable, suspected Communist troublemakers. We can't fire them until a public body asks them that $64 question and they fail to give the right answers."

To ask the $64 question—and to conduct some electioneering—a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities headed by Rep. Kit Clardy (R-Mich.) plans to begin a series of hearings in Detroit, Flint and Lansing on May 3. The Detroit News reported on Feb. 4 that more than 200 persons are under subpena; most are trade unionists but others are teachers, doctors and lawyers.


Drawing by Walter Iler

ONE STOUT VOICE: An effort by one recipient of a subpena to get a federal court injunction against the hearings resulted on Feb. 12 in unanimous House backing of the probe; earlier the House, with only one dissenting vote (Roy W. Wier, Farmer-Labor-D-Minn.) gave the Committee $275,000 for its work for the year.

But last week resistance to the Michigan hearings was building up. The membership of the important Flint Chevrolet Local 659 of the CIO United Auto Workers is unanimously on record:

> "It is time that labor joined together with all those who are smeared, libeled and pilloried and otherwise denied the protection of our Bill of Rights. . . . It is the official policy of the membership of Local 659 that we will not in any way cooperate with this undemocratic committee. We call upon our membership to oppose the coming to Flint of Clardy, who incidentally wants to use the hearings in Flint and Lansing to promote his own campaign for re-election. . . . Local 659 will give every possible financial aid for the legal defense of any member who is dragged before the committee. . . ."

In Detroit Briggs Chrysler Body Local 742 and Chevrolet Local 651 have adopted similar resolutions.

THE EVIL IS NOTED: Last January the General Council of Ford Local 600, representing 60,000 members, unanimously denounced the Committee and charged "the hearings will be used to attack organized labor." The local urged all groups and organizations concerned "to hold meetings and use all other means of publicity available to acquaint the community with the evils of these investigating committees." It suggested that Congress could better concern itself with the problem of growing unemployment in the area.

Even the UAW's Amalgamated West Side Local 174—one of the most conservative and the home local of CIO president Walter Reuther—has taken a stand. Said Local president Harry Southwell:

> "It is not yet a crime to belong to any political party in America. When you deprive a man of his livelihood because he is a member of any political group, you are depriving him of his rights under the Constitution, the very rights you are fighting to defend."

WEST COAST TOO: The Detroit AFL Federation of Teachers has halted an action by the Board of Education whereby teachers invoking the Fifth Amendment would have been suspended and removed from the payroll without investigation or accusations against them.

Another expedition of another subcommittee, this one headed by Donald L. Jackson (R-Calif.), is planned for the West Coast some time this spring. More than 100 persons "identified" as Communists in the movies, radio and TV, education, and unions will be called. Jackson has announced that hearings will be held not only in Los Angeles, but in San Diego, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle, with special attention to Harry Bridge's Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

McCarthyism is non-sectarian

Perhaps the most impressive thing to me about the Senator's [McCarthy's] visit here was the fact that a Congregational minister, Dr. James W. Fifield Jr., is such a champion of Sen. McCarthy, who is Catholic. In this anti-Communist issue Dr. Fifield feels that all churches must stand together or fall apart. Every creed and religion should back people like Sen. McCarthy who is fighting Communism so courageously, he said.

—Cobina Wright "Society" column, Los Angeles Herald-Express, Feb..

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Attention progressive Chicagoans! Don't forget to attend 11th Anniversary of **WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING!** April 10, 8:30 p.m., Palmer House (Grand Ballroom). Dramatic presentation "WARSAW MARTYRS" with stars of "Sholem Aleichem" Howard DaSilva and Jacob Ben-Ami. Also Cantor Moses Silverman. "LET US NEVER FORGET."

SCOTT NEARING speaks Fri., April 9, 8:30 p.m., on "CAN WEST EUROPE RECOVER?" Adm: $1. Woodrow Wilson Room, 116 S. Michigan Av. Auspices: Monthly Review Associates.

Washington, D. C.

DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE, noted Civil Rights lawyer, will speak on "The Crisis in Civil Rights." Dramatic presentation of Sobell Case. Entertainment. Wed., April 7, 8:30 p.m. Odd Fellows Hall, 9th & T Sts., N. W. Auspices: Rosenberg-Sobell Committee of Washington. Admission: Free.

Los Angeles

CALIFORNIA and nation honor **STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN**, president, Community Medical Foundation, at a TESTIMONIAL DINNER, Sat., Apr. 10, 7 p.m., Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av. Sponsor: Community Medical Foundation. Donation: $5. Reservations: WY 6633.

Newark, N. J.

Current Events Forum of Newark present first in series of monthly events: **DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS**, author, lecturer, educator, in "COMMENTARY ON SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD TODAY." Thurs., April 8, 8:30 p.m., at 516 Clinton Av. Adm: $1, members 75c.

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"THAT WORD IS NEGRO!" as Coleman Young, Exec. Secy. of the National Negro Labor Council corrects House Un-American Activities Comm. Counsel Frank Tavenner on the use of the term "niggra" in Detroit hearings on Feb. 28, 1952. This powerful 50 minute testimony available in special limited numbers on two 10" individually hand cut LP records for only $5.50. LIBERTY RECORDS, 4097 Grand Av., Detroit 38, Mich.

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D. N. PRITT CITES WEAKNESSES IN THE CHARGE AND THE EVIDENCE

How fair was the conspiracy trial of Morton Sobell?

By D. N. Pritt, Q. C.

(Second and concluding part of Mr. Pritt's analysis)

IT would not be practicable in this analysis, which is designed to provide an examination of the case against Sobell alone, to study in any detail the defects of the trial as it affected the Rosenbergs—defects which are widely-known and have been very fully canvassed in many countries. These defects nevertheless form an important part of the background of the trial of Sobell, and they may well of themselves have gone a long way towards making a fair trial of Sobell impossible; indeed, it is curious to reflect, when the new evidence that was sought to be adduced in relation to the Rosenbergs is studied, that if that new evidence had been called at the trial itself, its effect in weakening the prosecution's case against the Rosenbergs might well have been sufficient in fact, however illogically, to have secured the acquittal of Sobell. But the case against Sobell must here be examined entirely separately; and I can now proceed to examine that evidence.

The evidence of Max Elitcher

OF THE 23 WITNESSES actually called by the prosecution against all the defendants, only nine had anything to say about Sobell; and eight of those nine dealt with a relatively subsidiary matter. The main witness against Sobell, indeed the only one who gave any evidence which even purported to show directly that Sobell had committed the crime with which he was charged, was one Max Elitcher. Elitcher had worked from October, 1938, to October, 1948, in the Bureau of Ordnance of the U.S. Navy Dept.—which was not suggested to have had any connection with atomic secrets at that time.

Elitcher was asked and was allowed to answer, in spite of objections, questions as to whether Sobell had been a member of the Communist Party in 1939, years before the time of the alleged conspiracy, on the basis that such evidence showed motives for the commission of the offense charged. The trial judge's ruling that this evidence was admissible was based partly on statements by the prosecuting attorney that he would in due course prove both that the association of Sobell with the Communist Party lasted "right into the conspiracy" and also that there was a "causal connection between communism and the crime charged in the indictment". On the first of those points the prosecution wholly failed to make good its statement. On the second, a much more complex and indefinite matter—one more of opinion than of hard fact—it seems to me that it wholly failed on that point too; but in truth, in the atmosphere of the time and place of the trial, the mere assertion of membership of the Communist Party was presumably so prejudicial that, once it was made, the chances of a fair trial were greatly diminished.

However, the evidence was given, and Elitcher said that he himself had joined the party in 1939 at the suggestion of Sobell, who was at that time a member, and that Elitcher remained a member after 1941.

Turning now to such evidence as there was of Sobell having conspired with anybody about anything: the essence of this, coming of course exclusively from Elitcher, can be given in six items which I state not in the order in which they were given in evidence, but in their chronological order:—

1. Elitcher said that, in 1944, he told Sobell that Julius Rosenberg had asked him (Elitcher) to "contribute military information to Russia," and that Rosenberg had said that Sobell was also "helping in this"; and he added that Sobell had become very angry and said that Rosenberg should not have mentioned his name.

2. He said that, in the early part of 1946, Sobell asked him whether there were in existence any written reports on a system of firing control on which Elitcher was working, and whether Elitcher could get them for him.

3. He said that, later in 1946, Sobell suggested that he (Elitcher) should visit Rosenberg.

4. He said that, sometime in 1947, when he happened to meet Sobell, the latter asked him "whether I knew of any engineering students or engineering graduates who were progressive, who would be safe to approach on this question of espionage, of getting material."

5. He said that, about June, 1948, Sobell made an appointment for him to meet Rosenberg; that the three of them met, and Rosenberg urged him (Elitcher) not to leave the Bureau of Ordinance as he was proposing to do; and that Sobell agreed with Rosenberg on this.

6. He said that, about the end of July, 1948, when he traveled by car from Washington to New York, he thought he had been followed by FBI agents, and that he drove to Sobell's house and told him so. Sobell was very angry at this, he said, and complained that in such circumstances he should not have come to the house at all. Sobell, according to Elitcher, went on to say that he had some valuable information in the house (of which he gave no description), and that in the circumstances he must get rid of it at once; and he then and there took a 35 mm. film can and drove to Rosenberg's apartment with it, accompanied by Elitcher!

Accomplice who was 'scared to death'

A FEW COMMENTS MUST BE MADE on this evidence. Firstly, it must be remembered that the whole of it comes from Elitcher and Elitcher alone, and is not corroborated. Elitcher, according to his own account, was an accomplice at any rate of Rosenberg; as he said, "I was part of it." He admitted that he had been "scared to death" continuously from June 1948 onwards, that he was afraid of being prosecuted for perjury, and that he had told the FBI "everything he knew"—although he admitted lying to them too—in the hope that he might "come out the best way" and that "nothing would happen to him." He also admitted that he had been under psychological treatment for a long time. (It was not clear why he was not indicted nor even mentioned in the indictment as conspiring with, at any rate, Julius Rosenberg.)

MAX ELITCHER
His testimony separated . . .

DAVID GREENGLASS
. . . Morton and Helen Sobell (c.)

The fact that Elitcher was admittedly an accomplice in a conspiracy with Rosenberg—and it was the prosecution's case that there was only one conspiracy—puts him at once into the class of "accomplice witnesses," those who, in the old English phrase, "turn Queen's evidence." Such witnesses are universally regarded as highly unreliable, not merely because they are self-confessed criminals and are betraying their associates, but far more because it is dangerously easy for them to implicate falsely, for some benefit to themselves, or to pay off some "score" or for any other reason, one who in fact took no part in the crime.

They are in a position to tell a story that is in the main true, and thus much easier to tell without being exposed as a liar in cross-examination; but at the same time to insert into that story some limited but serious falsity—as, for example, an assertion that some particular accused person was present, when he really was not present, at some particular incident which had in fact taken place; or to insert a damning word or two into an account of a harmless conversation which had in fact taken place, and thus to give a criminal atmosphere to a perfectly innocent conversation.

It is plain that Elitcher was still in danger of prosecution, and—as he says—was anxious to help himself out if he could; and it is equally plain that there was no corroboration of his story. And, as one peruses his evidence, it is noticeable that the few words here and there that relate to espionage might well have been quite easily and neatly inserted in an otherwise true and innocuous story.

The next point to be noticed is that none of the six incidents seems to bear any relationship whatever to the five overt acts alleged against Sobell (although the fifth is only one month out from one of the conversations alleged between Sobell and Rosenberg.)

'Inherent improbability'; the 'flight' to Mexico

TURNING TO STUDY the six incidents separately, perusal of the evidence relating to the first incident shows that it is not by any means clear that Sobell's anger was due to his name being mentioned under circumstances where it was correct in fact, but might have been more prudent not to mention it, or to the fact that he had had nothing to do with any such conversation if it had ever taken place.

On the second incident, the evidence makes it plain that having regard to the work which Sobell was doing for his own employer in behalf of the U.S. Government at the time, it was quite legitimate for him to seek to see such written reports.

The fourth item is a typical indication of a case where a person in Elitcher's position could just slip in a reference to espionage; for it would have been quite reasonable at that time for Sobell, for innocent purposes, to want to know engineering students or graduates in connection with his work for the Government.

On the sixth item, one sees at once the inherent improbability that Sobell, fearing Elitcher might have been traced to his house, would rush straight out with valuable information, presumably under the eyes of watchers, and thus lead them not only to Rosenberg but also to himself; and it is further to be noticed that Elitcher admitted in cross-examination that when he was telling the FBI "everything I know," he said nothing of this incident either in his first interrogation by the FBI, which lasted ten hours, or in his second interrogation, or in his evidence before the Grand Jury.

That weak and inconclusive story, from a lone uncorroborated accomplice, was the whole of the evidence against Sobell that went in any way to establish attempts at espionage; but there was one other item of evidence brought forward against him, namely, the story of his alleged "flight" to Mexico some time before he was charged. Evidence of flight, as in some way establishing guilt, is seldom regarded as anything more than some reinforcement of other, direct, evidence; but its actual strength must always depend on the circumstances.

The circumstances here are that Sobell, accompanied by his wife and children at a time when there did not appear to be any likelihood of his being prosecuted, traveled from New York to Mexico City, quite openly booking air passages in his own name and telling various people where he was going; and that on arrival in Mexico City, he took an apartment in his own name, where he could be and was in fact found without any difficulty. He did, however, after having been in Mexico over three weeks, travel about to various places, using various aliases during a brief period. The value of this evidence was sought to be enhanced by the prosecution by an allegation that he had been deported from Mexico to the U.S. The evidence relied upon to prove that he had been deported consisted of a written entry by a U.S. Immigration official, which was probably technically inadmissible in law; but—and this is more important—other evidence showed quite conclusively that he had not been deported from Mexico but had been violently and illegally seized by armed men and rushed to the frontier where U.S. officials were expecting him. It would seem clear in any case that the question whether he had been deported from Mexico or not was a matter of pure prejudice which should not have been introduced into a serious political prosecution.

The evidence of Elitcher and the evidence of the alleged flight were the whole of the evidence against Sobell. There was no suggestion that he had ever heard of the atomic conspiracy. There was no pretense that the two alleged sets of espionage activities—namely, the atomic conspiracy centering around Greenglass and the shadowy conspiracy to commit espionage in relation to firing control and other similar matters with which Elitcher and Sobell were alleged to have had something to do—were connected in any way at all, except to the extent that Julius Rosenberg was alleged to be connected with both.

It was only possible, indeed, to link them together in an indictment by keeping the charge so vague—it referred merely to "Information relating to the national defense of the U.S.A."—that it could cover practically any acts of espionage; and the test normally applied to determine whether people are parties to one conspiracy or not—namely, the question whether they had "some common unlawful objective"—is one that could scarcely be answered, on the facts proved in this case, except by saying that there was no such common objective. Two separate sets of activity, both alleged to offend the same provision of law, are not thereby made into one and the same activity.

Did prosecution ever have a real case?

I MUST NOW EXPRESS the views which I have formed as best I can, in the light of the facts which I have related above, on the questions whether there was a "case"—as the lawyers express it—on which Sobell could properly be convicted, and whether he had a fair trial. (The two questions are not identical, but they are closely connected).

I feel bound to express my view, on substantially five grounds, that both these questions ought to be answered against the prosecution.

The ground which can conveniently be taken first, although it is not the most important, is this very curious fact: that the case for the prosecution, as against Sobell, was not, on a comparison of the indictment and other documents connected with its institution on the one hand and with the facts proved in evidence on the other, apparently a seriously prepared case at all.

I have already referred to the five dates on which the overt acts are alleged to have been committed, and the date on which it was alleged that Sobell joined the conspiracy, shortly after the date on which it was begun. Whether the prosecution ever had any intention or capacity to establish any of these dates, or whether it just "took them out of the air," is not clear; but it is beyond dispute that in the evidence it never made any attempt to prove that anything happened on any of those dates; the only incident deposed to anywhere which even comes near to any of those dates is the fifth incident described by Elitcher, which is only a month away from one of the dates. It is difficult for any experienced trial lawyer to understand how, if the prosecution ever had any real case against Sobell, it gave such unreal particulars, and made no attempt to link them to the evidence, or the evidence to them.

There is, indeed an element of comedy in this tragedy of mis-trial when one observes the odd and almost casual attempts which were made—consciously or unconsciously—at the trial to ascertain whether there ever had been meetings between Sobell and Julius Rosenberg of the sort alleged. There was nothing of the sort in the evidence for the prosecution; and when one turns to that for the defense, the first attempt is to be found in the evidence of Julius Rosenberg, who was not asked in the first instance any questions whatever by the prosecution about any such meetings as were alleged between him and Sobell; but after the cross-examination of Julius Rosenberg had been almost completed without any such question, the trial judge intervened and asked Julius whether Sobell had ever been at his home; and, somewhat later in the evidence, the prosecuting counsel himself asked Rosenberg almost casually whether he had been in touch with Sobell between 1940 and 1945!

Key weaknesses of charges and evidence

THE NEXT GROUND to be mentioned is that the case against Sobell on the charge of conspiracy—the only charge made against him—is singularly weak. As mentioned above, it is generally much easier to prove a charge of conspiracy than to prove a charge of some specific crime—here, espionage; but it remains the fact that even a conspiracy charge must be supported by some evidence that the accused in some way, expressly or impliedly, made an agreement with some fellow-conspirator!

Here, the charge was that a conspiracy began on June 6, 1944; that the main "overt acts" (with which Sobell was unconnected) were all over before the end of January, 1945; that the five overt acts mentioned in the first complaint against Sobell began in January, 1946, and ended in May, 1948. When one turns to look at the evidence to see what case was made out against Sobell of conspiracy with Julius Rosenberg (the only alleged fellow-conspirator with whom there was any evidence of his communicating), we find that the only conversation between the two (the fifth item of the Elitcher evidence) was a conversation of little intrinsic importance four years after Sobell was alleged to have joined (presumably by some act of agreement) the conspiracy, over three years after the last of the 12 overt acts, and a month after the last of the five overt acts.

The next ground is that of the extreme weakness of the evidence against Sobell. I have already fully stated both the weakness of Elitcher as a witness and the support of what evidence he did actually give, and need not develop this further.

The next ground is the most important. It is that there was no justification for allowing in evidence against Sobell the mass of the "atomic conspiracy" evidence which secured the conviction of the Rosenbergs and must have played a large part in convicting Sobell too. The basis on which it was ruled to be admissible was that the evidence for the prosecution had established that there was one conspiracy only, to which the two Rosenbergs and Sobell were parties, and not merely two separate conspiracies (if any).

This seems to me, for reasons which I have already sufficiently stated, to be wrong; but what is surely wrong beyond doubt or dispute is that the trial judge did not give the jury the opportunity to decide for itself whether there was one conspiracy or two. If they had been given that opportunity, it is at least likely that they would have said there were two; and that should have at least gone a very long way towards the acquittal of Sobell. The trial judge, however, in effect, compelled the jury to treat the matter as one conspiracy, since he charged them positively that, if they believed the evidence of Elitcher, Sobell was a member of the larger conspiracy—i.e., the single conspiracy charged in the indictment—whereas it is plain on the evidence that if Elitcher's evidence be accepted fully, it still does not go one inch towards establishing that Sobell had anything to do with any other conspiracy.

Case 'totally different' if tried separately

IT THUS SEEMS to me to have been doubly wrong to compel the jury, unless it disbelieved Elitcher, both to treat Sobell as a party to the main conspiracy, in defiance of all the common sense of the matter, and to treat the sensational evidence of Greenglass and others as evidence in the fullest sense against Sobell. It is clear that, if Sobell had been tried separately without the emotional hysteria raised by reference to atom-bombs and without the jury's mind being filled with the long story of David Greenglass's espionage and other similar operations, the case would have had a totally different appearance and the jury would have had a totally different and smaller set of facts to consider.

The last ground is that, even if it were regarded as proper that Sobell should be tried jointly with the Rosenbergs, with the jury being charged that they were to consider the atomic espionage evidence as against the Rosenbergs only, and to ignore it when dealing with Sobell, it would not in fact be possible to have a fair trial of Sobell in such conditions, having regard to the intellectual impossibility of a jury dividing up in their minds such a mass of evidence, of such sensational quality.

It is true that both prosecuting counsel and judges often profess that it is quite possible for juries to go through such mental gymnastics, although laymen generally regard it as quite impossible, as I myself regard it, except in the shortest and simplest cases. It is comforting to recall that in the passage in the judgment of Mr. Justice Jackson, cited earlier in this analysis, one finds that learned judge declaring that

> ". . . the naive assumption that prejudicial effects can be overcome by instructions to the jury . . . all practising lawyers know to be unmitigated fiction."

LAWYERS SAY CHILDREN AND TRUST FUND ARE IN GOOD HANDS

Court challenged on Rosenberg children

IN A BRIEF filed with Surrogate's Court last week, Gloria Agrin, attorney and secretary of the Rosenberg Children's Fund, challenged the court's jurisdiction to name a guardian for Michael and Robbie Rosenberg and the trust fund set up for them by the late Emanuel Bloch. Miss Agrin also demanded a bill of particulars spelling out the Welfare Dept.'s charges that the children are "neglected" and that they have been "exploited" for fund-raising.

The action against the children was instituted last Feb. 17 when five city representatives demanded immediate custody of the children at seven o'clock in the evening just as they were preparing for bed. Anne and Abel Meeropol, with whom the children had been living happily since Christmas, prevented their forcible removal that night, but next day Domestic Relations Judge Jacob Panken, without a hearing, assigned them to the Pleasantville Home of the Jewish Child Care Assn.

NO ACTION NEEDED: Three days later State Supreme Court Justice James B. McNally, acting on a writ of habeaus corpus, turned the children over to their paternal grandmother, Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, with whom they have since been living pending final court action on the case.

ROBBIE ROSENBERG

In her brief Miss Agrin objected strenuously to the appointment of any guardian as unnecessary, and specifically opposed the appointment of Morton L. Deitch, an attorney who heads the Jewish Child Care Assn., recommended by the Welfare Dept. If the court does assume jurisdiction, she argued that Mrs. Rosenberg and two maternal aunts of the boys, Ethel Goldberg and Lena Cohen, be named joint guardians. If this is denied, she reserved the right to propose other candidates for the guardianship.

She refuted all charges of "neglect" and "exploitation" and denied "that the best interests of the children will be served by the appointment by this Court of a general guardian for or guardians of the persons of the children." She further argued that a guardian cannot be appointed under the Social Welfare Law since the children are neither destitute nor dependent.

THE FUND: Miss Agrin also described how Bloch, in the last weeks of his life before his untimely death on Jan. 31, had made a tour of the U.S. and Canada and raised a large part of the fund of $46,325.43, which is now in trust for the children and administered by herself and four other persons.

The brief recounted the experiences of the children since their mother Ethel Rosenberg, was arrested in August, 1950 (Julius Rosenberg had been arrested earlier). They first went to live with Ethel's mother, Mrs. Tessie Greenglass, but she neither wanted them nor was able to care for them properly, the brief said. In October, 1950, the boys were placed in the Hebrew Children's Home in the Bronx, but they were extremely unhappy there and Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg took them into her home in July, 1951.

In the early part of 1952 the publicity attending their parents' trial led to a series of incidents against the boys both in school and in the neighborhood and for their protection they were sent to live with a couple in Toms River, N. J. In October, 1953 the local school officials ruled that they were ineligible for school in Toms River because they were nonresidents. At Christmas time that year they were taken to live with the Meeropols, with whom they made a fine and rapid adjustment and whom they loved as their own parents.

MICHAEL ROSENBERG

ARMY OF COPS: The brief describes in some detail how the children were taken from the Meeropols and quotes a social worker employed by the Jewish Board of Guardians who argued for their immediate removal: "It won't hurt these children. They're used to it."

Police squad cars surrounded the block in which the Meeropol home was located, police were posted on nearby roofs and two guards spent the night in the hall outside the Meeropol door. In the morning Philip Sokol, Dept. of Welfare attorney, came with 15 uniformed policemen to escort the two boys to court.

The brief also quoted the last letter written by Julius Rosenberg just before his execution on June 19, 1953. It was addressed to Bloch and placed the boys in his care:

"Our children are the apple of our eye, our pride and most precious fortune. Love them with all your heart and always protect them in order that they grow up to be normal, healthy people. That you will do this I am sure but as their proud father I take the prerogative to ask it of you, my dearest friend and devoted brother. I love my sons most profoundly."

FARM

NFU ousts Iowa and Eastern Units

OF the three largest U.S. farm organizations, the Natl. Farmers Union is the smallest but the most active and progressive in defense of the small family-sized farm. Last week the NFU was doubled up in a contradiction, its progressivism compromised by McCarthyism. Its board of directors, during the organization's biennial convention in Denver, on March 13 revoked the charters of the Iowa Farmers Union, headed by Fred Stover, and the

Eastern Division (which includes New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware) headed by Alvin Christman. Ostensible reason for the ouster was that both groups lack a required membership of 3,500. But the N. Y. Times reported:

> "A top official said privately that the action was taken because of 'extreme left wing, if not Communist' tendencies in the units."

PLEA FOR UNITY: On March 16 Stover and Christman in a joint statement deplored "this shortsighted decision of the board" and called it "undemocratic, discriminatory and arbitrary." They discounted the membership requirement as the real reason for the ouster, pointed out that both organizations are conducting vigorous recruiting drives, are growing steadily and that the Eastern Division now has 3,000 members. They asked:

> "Why did national representatives of NFU request Fred Stover to resign as president of Iowa Farmers Union in return for keeping their charter if the [membership requirement] is sacred?"

Describing the present situation confronting farmers as "perhaps the most serious in our history," the two leaders declared that it is "imperative that we set aside small or fancied differences and join together for mutual protection." They added:

> "At this crucial time there is no reason to find differences where none exist or take steps which divide farmers instead of uniting them. Instead of revoking charters and casting good members adrift we believe it is more proper to unite them and build an invincible union. . . . We now see how McCarthyism is being turned against all Americans and is used to divert attention from the real needs of farmers. Can we attain our aims by bending knees to McCarthy and other reactionaries?"

CONSISTENT: Both groups have been noted for consistent progressivism; Stover was a founder of the Progressive Party and since the beginning of the cold war has been one of the country's outstanding advocates of peace.

Langer acts to curb war move by President

Both President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles having indicated that the Administration is prepared to unleash "instant massive retaliation" without any declaration of war by Congress, Sen. Langer (R-N.D.) has introduced Concurrent Resolution 71 to curb this power. The bill would bar U.S. armed forces being ordered into action, when Congress has not declared war, "except to the extent necessary to repel an armed attack against the U.S. or any of its territories or possessions."

The GUARDIAN urges expressions of opinion to Sen. Langer on the important action he has taken.

CALIFORNIA

Dinner to honor Fritchman April 10

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, Unitarian, storm-center of the attack on outspoken California clergymen, will be honored Saturday, Apr. 10, at a community-wide testimonial dinner at 7 p.m. in the Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av., Los Angeles.

Scholar, writer, former university professor, radio lecturer, pastor of Los Angeles' dynamic First Unitarian church and liberal leader, Fritchman also has found time since 1951 to serve as president of one of the nation's most unique low-cost, non-profit, inter-racial medical clinics—the Community Medical Foundation, consumer governing body of the Community Medical Center, 1236 S. Lake St.

HIS CHURCH LEADS: His colleagues in the Foundation conceived the testimonial tribute and will serve as sponsors, together with scores of local and national leaders with whom Fritchman has worked throughout the country in the last 25 years.

The dinner comes at a time when Fritchman's congregation has just assumed leadership in the fight against the new California law requiring churches and other non-profit institutions to sign loyalty oaths when seeking tax exemptions. The membership voted to refuse to conform and to carry a fight to the courts. The American Friends Service Committee on the coast, and other groups, are following suit.

Rev. G. L. Hays, president of Los Angeles' Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, which includes all Negro churches of the area, will address the Fritchman dinner. Reservations (with donation of $5) may be made by calling WYoming 6633.

Craig Vincent free of contempt threat

LATE in January a businessmen's jury in El Paso, Tex., found Clinton Jencks, an intl. representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union (ind.), guilty of a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-communist oath. Judge R. E. Thomason sentenced him to five years; Jencks is free on bail pending an appeal.

In pre-trial hearings a subpena was issued for Craig Vincent, until recently owner and operator with his wife Jenny of the San Cristobal Ranch in Taos, New Mexico. He was ordered to produce the guest list for 1950, a year which figured in the testimony of Harvey Matusow, FBI plant in the Communist Party. Vincent refused, invoked the Fifth Amendment. Thomason cited him for contempt.

CHANGE OF MIND: Two weeks ago Thomason reversed himself after studying the case, dismissed the citation. The judge said Vincent was justified in refusing to answer questions about the ranch since it was linked in testimony with alleged communist activities. He based his opinion on legal precedents dating back to the case of Aaron Burr, in 1807, when Chief Justice John Marshall clarified the right of a witness to refuse to testify against himself. Thomason said:

> "No man in this country has to testify against himself. The true test of the propriety of claiming privilege is that a witness cannot be compelled to provide even a link in a chain of testimony which might be necessary to convict him."

Bogeyman Theory of History

In the fight against the witch-mania . . . there were few enough to defend individual victims but fewer still who were willing to assert publicly that belief in witchcraft was groundless. So today in the fight against "McCarthyism." It is sometimes hard to draw a line of principle between McCarthy and his critics. If there is indeed a monstrous and diabolic conspiracy against world peace and stability, then isn't McCarthy right? If "subversives" are at work like termites here and abroad, are they not likely to be found in the most unlikely places and under the most unlikely disguises? How talk of fair procedure if dealing with a protean and Satanic enemy?

To doubt the power of the devil, to question the existence of witches, is again to read oneself out of respectable society, to brand oneself a heretic, to incur suspicion of being oneself in league with the powers of evil. So all the fighters against McCarthyism are impelled to adopt its premises. This was true even of the Stevenson speech, but was strikingly so of Flanders. The country is in a bad way indeed when as feeble and hysterical a speech is hailed as an attack on McCarthyism. . . .

McCarthy is personally discomfited, but McCarthyism is still on the march . . . There can be no firm foundation for freedom in this country unless there is real peace. There can be no real peace without a readiness for live-and-let-live, i. e., for co-existence with communism . . . Had we operated on the Bogeyman Theory of History, America would have destroyed itself long ago. It will destroy itself now unless and until a few men of stature have the nerve to speak again the traditional language of free society.

—**I. F. Stone's Weekly,** March 15.

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NEW YORK

THROUGH THE POLITICAL SEWER—III

City school system a giant slush fund for the politicians

By Elmer Bendiner

(Third of a series)

THE odor of New York's political sewer penetrates every classroom in the city: in ramshackle pre-civil-war buildings with falling plaster, and in new, freshly painted ranch-type schools with built-in slush funds for political payoffs.

While teachers continue notoriously underpaid, and some schools must run on two or three shifts with over-capacity classes, the political machines quietly drain the school system at every point a dollar is spent.

Schools fit into the politician's picture as a source of public funds. Rights to this water hole are traded for political support or cash on the line. It's an almost inexhaustible hole—for the Dept. of Education spends over $200 million a year.

"PATTERN OF FRAUD": The company that paints a hand-rail or sprays a school floor for vermin—and often neither paints nor sprays, but bills the city for both—must play a political game in which the children are the losers.

As in other areas of the sewer there have been investigations, scandals momentarily aired, then hushed with business going on as usual. In 1949 Board of Education member James Marshall charged a pattern of malpractice in the Bureau of Plant Operation & Maintenance that went back to 1931.

GRAFT INVESTIGATION

In October, 1950, a year later, Commissioner of Investigations Sheils submitted a 22-page report which, he said, contained only "a fraction of the evidence available." He found that in one fiscal year—from July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1949—there had been a "pattern of fraud" connected with purchases of more than $1 million worth of paint, glass, lumber, etc.

ORAL SHENANIGANS: A long-familiar blight was the "oral order." Departmental rulings provided that purchases of under $200 could be made by the Dept. over the phone without competitive bidding. Marshall called the oral orders "nothing less than shenanigans . . . outrageous violations of the law." The Sheils report documented the shenanigans.

In one afternoon five separate oral orders were given to the same contractor, each amounting to $158. In another case a paint company received four separate orders for the identical kind of paint, each just under the line at $198.75. This is how the school system was milked on that one: a gallon of battleship-grey paint under competitive bidding would have cost $1.80; on "oral orders" the city paid $4.10 a gallon.

RELUCTANT JANSEN: The report, which named companies and individuals, was greeted feebly. Dist. Atty. Hogan said: "These charges do not allege a crime." Nevertheless in Nov., 1950, the N.Y. County Grand Jury indicted three minor employes in the Bureau of Plant Operation & Maintenance and two officials of the Pilgrim Paint Products, Inc., of 2772 3d Av., Bronx.

Marshall warned that only the "small fry" seemed to be getting the axe, and questions were raised about Harold D. Hynds, supt. of the Bureau. Supt. of Schools Jansen demonstrated what the N.Y. **Times** editorially called "a reluctance to come to grips with an unpleasant matter." He declined to dismiss Hynds from his $12,500-a-year job, said the report showed no criminal negligence but only "poor administrative procedure." That procedure spilled school funds down the drain at an estimated rate of $1,000 a day.

MILDLY CANCEROUS: Pres. of the Board of Education Maximilian Moss also took a charitable view. He admitted there was a "cancer of fraud and inefficiency" but said it could be remedied by hiring people experienced in the "every day rough-and-tumble, give-and-take of the business world."

The give-and-take continued all through 1951. The Sheils report resulted only in one other minor prosecution of three very small fry in the Dept. and the Acme Exterminating Co. which allegedly had bribed one of them with a television set—to record extermination missions that were never made.

SUPT. JANSEN
He looked the other way

THE BORED JURYMAN: In April, 1952, more than three years after Marshall first made his charges, the Pilgrim Paint Products case came to trial before Judge Jonah Goldstein. It lasted 10 days throughout which one juror, John W. Diefendorf, 59, a salesman for Handy and Harman, gold, silver and platinum dealers, looked remarkably bored.

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RANK-

NO CONTRACT — NO WORK — NO WAGNER
Members of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. boo Mayor Wagner (wearing light hat) as he tours docks with Police Commr. Adams (in glasses) in back-to-work call. Dockers are on no-contract-no-work strike. The Mayor, with AFL help, has tried to break the strike by TV appeals, threats to call the Army. Holding fast, some dockers called the Mayor a strike-breaker, others called him a Republican.

The case seemed open and shut. Though all the city knew this was small potatoes compared with what might be found, here at least a conviction seemed inevitable. The jury was out nine hours, then reported itself deadlocked. The hold-out was Diefendorf who allegedly pretended to read a newspaper while the rest sought a verdict, took no part in the debate, showed readiness to hold out indefinitely.

BURIED BODIES: In July Judge Goldstein, breaking precedent, found Diefendorf guilty of contempt for violating the "court's admonition to keep his mind open and to form no conclusions" until the case was submitted. He sentenced him to 10 days in jail. That was the only conviction to come out of the three-year probe.

There was one other casualty. Marshall, who first exposed the scandal and who ranked as one of the most respected members on the board was not reappointed in the spring of 1952. He had not only told where the body was buried; he had put his finger on the guilty parties. He said that Mayor LaGuardia—who had appointed Marshall—"drove the district and county leaders out of the temples of education. . . . Under O'Dwyer the evil returned."

The "evil" took root under Impellitteri and honest informers, from Marshall on down, traced much of it to an unwholesome interest on the part of the Borough President's office. Since the Manhattan Borough President became Mayor there has been no visible improvement.

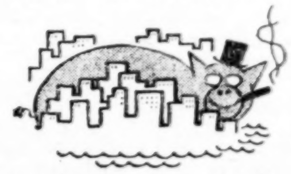
HOW TO DO IT: The political machine can make things easy for anyone who wants to do business with the city if he is also willing to do business with the machine. Here are some of the methods of serving the Dept. of Education:

- A "fixer" can leak full information of what the Board has estimated the job should cost, and perhaps arrange to tailor the estimate to a contractor's needs. Some years ago Calvada, Inc., submitted a bid to do carpentry and millwork on P.S. 39 for $56,000. After the bids were in, the Dept. behind closed doors boosted its own estimate from $56,900 to $124,000. Immediately thereafter Calvada discovered it had made an arithmetical error, revised its bid to $108,000. The Dept.'s own estimate made Calvada's bid look like a rare bargain.

IN CONFERENCE

- Specifications can also be leaked. Paint companies have complained that a favored rival is tipped off when the school sets a new color scheme. Some specifications are completely impossible. Officials can then rule out firms which don't cooperate, gloss over the failure of others to live up too rigidly to standards.
- Work orders can be faked, dressed up or exaggerated.
- Purchase of land sites for schools provides a mine. A classic was the city's deal for the new P.S. 6 on Madison Av. between 81st and 82d Sts. In 1944 the city sold the property to the Catholic Church for $275,000. On May 18, 1949, Borough Pres. Wagner, as chairman of the City Planning Commission, endorsed the purchase of the same property from the Catholic Church for $1,350,000.

ON THE SAFE SIDE: The machine reaches directly into the offices of members of the Board of Education. James Marshall in 1952 surveyed the board members' confidential secretaries and found three were co-district leaders and two or three others were captains. He added: "I can't believe they are there for nothing."



Most of those same confidential secretaries polled by Marshall are still in office. This reporter told a Dept. official: "I assume Marshall's tally would still hold."

He laughed and said: "It's a very safe assumption."

GWINN TEST

Evictions stayed on loyalty law

EVICTIONS based on the Gwinn loyalty oath for tenants in federally-aided housing were ordered temporarily stayed Mar. 23 by the N.Y. Appellate Division which recently ruled in favor of the law (GUARDIAN 3/22). The stay was granted to permit lawyers to file an appeal with the N.Y. State Court of Appeals, which will probably continue the stay until it hears the case. Housing authorities in other cities were expected to follow N.Y.'s pattern in delaying evictions.

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Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

GRAND CONCERT AND BALL
Featuring Martha Schlamme
Saturday, April 3—8:30 P.M.
The Clubhouse
150 West 85th Street, N. Y.
Buffet Supper
Dancing to Name Orchestra
Admission $1.50, tax included
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS, INC. First city-wide meeting, Fri., Mar. 26, 8 p.m. Caravan Hall, 110 E. 59th St. "Fear vs. Faith in Humanity." Chairman: Dr. Willard Uphaus, Director World Fellowship, Inc Speaker: Mr. Harvey O'Connor, author and labor publicist. Audience participation & entertainment.

GAY SPRING PARTY
Sat. eve., March 27, at 35 Charles St. Dancing, entertainment, refreshments. Contribution: $1. Auspices: Village ALP.

"THE GREAT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE: Our Progressive Heritage," with Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Lloyd Brown, David Goldway, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. Sun., March 28, 8:30 p.m. Contribution; $1.

Soviet Art since the Death of Stalin. Revolt against the **"ZHDANOV" LINE.** The demand for artistic freedom by Khachaturian, Ehrenberg, etc. Lecture by Fred Gross. Also Socialist Book Fair: rare books, bargains. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m., 863 Broadway (17th St.) Auspices: American Socialist. Cont.: $1.

Special preview **ASP INTERNATIONAL ARTS BAZAAR & ENTERTAINMENT** at Film Division's Weekly Party. Dancing, refreshments. ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Sat., March 27, 8:30 p.m. Cont.: $1.

LECTURE: Foreign Policy "New Look." Speaker: Catherine Gratta. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Place (near Union Square). Cont.: 25c. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

REALISTS AND ABSTRACTION evening of art criticism. Hear **SIDNEY LAUFMAN**, landscape painter, teacher of figure painting and drawing. Bring original works for criticism, participate in another stimulating discussion. Fri., April 2, 8:30 p.m. Art Div., ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: 50c.

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Lexington Houses at E. 98th St. and Lexington has a public day nursery for pre-school kids, but family incomes must be close to rock-bottom to qualify. Private nursery schools in the neighborhood are expensive. Two years ago mothers formed Lexington Houses Nursery School, Inc., to give pre-school children "something to grow on" at $20 a month tuition. These four having fun indoors would otherwise be the under-under-privileged.

TURN THE PAGE — DON'T CLOSE THE BOOK

The School, interracial from the start, stresses playing together as a prelude to living together. But for these spellbound kids all this may end unless their friends rally fast. Expenses top tuition. The school's in a hole and is staging a bazaar Friday, Apr. 2, 8-11 p.m.; Apr. 3, 11 a.m.-4 p.m.

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Events for Children

Films

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **It Takes Everybody to Build the Land,** 2 p.m., Sat., Mar. 27.

N. Y. BOTANICAL GARDENS, Bronx Park, N. Y. **A Bird Watcher's Paradise,** 3:30 p.m., Sat., Apr. 3. Museum Bldg.

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY: Washington Irving Branch, 360 Irving Av. **Princess and the Dragon & Small Fry Pony Express,** 4 p.m., Tues., Mar. 30. Free.

85TH ST. TRANS-LUX, 85th & Madison. SPECIAL CHILDREN'S SHOWS: Sats., 11 a.m. **Johnny Giant Killer,** Sat., Mar. 27; **Frances Goes West Point,** Sat., April 3. Children 35c, adults 50c.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **The Window Cleaner & A Girl from Puerto Rico,** 11 a.m. & 3 p.m., Sat., Apr. 3. Free.

Dance & Music

FUN WITH MUSIC for young people. **Jack and the Beanstalk,** with gay operetta company. Audience participation as chorus. Last in a series of five concerts. Dorothy White, mistress of ceremonies. Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Av., B'klyn, 3 p.m., Sat., Mar. 27. $1.50. ST 3-6700.

MERRY-GO-ROUNDERS in two new story-ballets: **Tyrolean Wedding** (Austrian mountain celebration); **Forest Adventure** (capture of mountain lion); **The Goops** (pranks in younger ranks) YM-YWHA, Kaufman Auditorium, 92d St. & Lex. Av. Sun. 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. March 28. Reduced rates for blocks of 20 or more. $2-$1. Box Office: TR 6-2366.

FOLK SONGS & BALLAD characterizations by Bernice Kamsler. Marshall Butler, piano. Cooper Union, 4th Av. & Astor Pl. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Mar. 28. Free.

FREE CONCERT: Manhattan School of Music, Robert Guralnik, pianist. Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. 3 p.m., Sun., Apr. 4.

PAUL DRAPER in benefit recital for the Gramercy School of Dance & Music, Inc. (non-profit organization). John Colman, pianist. Program designed for children as well as adults. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. 5:45 p.m., Sun., Apr. 4. $2.50. Tickets obtained from the school: 853 B'way, N. Y. C., or 601 Eastern Parkway, B'klyn. SL 6-4994, am. only.

Play

SNOW WHITE, play for young folk, by Playmart Children's Theater. Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Performances Sats. 1 & 2:45 p.m. & Suns. 2:45 p.m. thru April. $1.20 & 75c. Reserv: PL 3-0746 or write Playmart Productions, 52 W. 58th St.

Miscellaneous

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY BRANCHES: Parent Pre-School Group, films & talks. **Going Places in N. Y. with Your Children,** 2 p.m., Tues., Mar. 30, Highlawn Br., 1721 W. 6th St., **Preface to a Life** (film), 10:30 a.m., Tues., Mar. 30, New Lots Br., 847 New Lots Av.; **Very Idea** (film), 2 p.m., Tues., Mar. 30, Saratoga Br., 8 Hopkinson Av. Free.

EASTER IN THE HEAVENS, Hayden Planetarium show for April. American Mus. of Nat'l. History, 81st St. & Central Park W. Weekdays: 2, 3:30 & 8:30 p.m.; Sats.: 11 a.m.; Sats. & Suns.: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Adults 65c mats., 95c eves. Children 40c at all times.

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THE TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

2,200 jam Teachers N. Y. Union conference

By Ione Kramer

AN ENTHUSIASTIC crowd of 2,200 teachers and their friends packed the Hotel Commodore ballroom in New York March 20 for the N.Y. Teachers Union's 18th annual conference, despite intensified attacks by State and Congressional investigators and the Board of Education.

More than 100 teachers — most Jewish — have lost their jobs to date, Irving Adler, suspended Textile High math dept. head, told a panel. Discharges have come piecemeal, he said; if they had come together they would be shown to be "one of the biggest pogroms in the history of the U.S."

There was agreement on the conference theme—"The Turning Point in American Education"—but the speakers offered a variety of opinions on the state of the witch-hunts in the schools.

STUDENTS' FEAR: "Cheer up, the worst is yet to come," Judge Hubert T. Delany of the Court of Domestic Relations said. Urging a continuing fight for academic freedom, he said the fear in the hearts of today's students disturbed him more than any fear in the hearts of the teachers. Today's teachers had at least four years in college when they could speak freely, he said, but today's students are in danger of losing that.

Brooklyn's Justice Lewis Flagg Jr. was more optimistic. He said that with "papers heretofore silent or anti-liberal . . . now talking against McCarthy," conditions were getting better.

Albert E. Fitzgerald, United Electrical Workers' president, said "things will get tougher in the next few months and there will be many more casualties." But the witch-hunters' stepped-up schedule did not disturb him; he said it meant "they are trying to get all they can in one gobble before their time runs out."

THERE FOR ALL: "Workers don't want their children to get a Taft-Hartley education in textbooks censored by the NAM," he told the teachers. After the recent McCarthy hearings in General Electric towns, he said, not only UE members were fired, but members of the AFL and CIO's IUE. "GE is out to get every individual who has courage to take a position of leadership in labor or speak out against management's policies," he said.

"I had the pleasure of using the Fifth Amendment," Fitzgerald declared, "because our forefathers put it in the Constitution for a good purpose and no good American should fail to avail himself of it." He warned we must be careful not to make McCarthy the symbol for everything that is bad in the country: "It doesn't make much difference whether our vital organs are cut out with a hacksaw in the hand of McCarthy or with the instruments of a surgeon in the hands of Nixon."

ALBERT E. FITZGERALD
For textbooks without T-H

HUTCHINS DECLINES: In Robert M. Hutchins' own phrase, TU legislative rep. Rose Russell deplored the "miasma of fear" which had moved Hutchins to decline the TU annual award for the defense of academic freedom. Three weeks ago Hutchins, former U. of Chicago Chancellor and now Ford Foundation associate director, had agreed to accept the award. Two days before the conference Hutchins wired he had reconsidered his decision. He said: "Reports that have just reached me regarding the political attitudes and activities of the Teachers Union raise doubts about whether its views of academic freedom coincide with mine."

"I think Hutchins is a very unhappy man today," Miss Russell said, "but I believe he will find a way to make amends." The only ones rejoicing over his actions are "those who have sneered at him and hate the things he stands for,' she said.

Barrows Dunham, former Temple Univ. philosophy dept. head, a 1953 witch-hunt victim who faces a Congressional contempt citation, looked ahead. "Out of today's struggles will come a great new age," he said.

DELINQUENCY: Recent articles on "juvenile delinquency" in the N.Y. **Daily News** were scored at the conference as an attempt to "undermine all confidence in the schools by placing all the blame on teachers." TU president Abraham Lederman said the TU and others have repeatedly warned that unless the size of classes was reduced, old and dilapidated buildings were replaced, guidance programs expanded and an adequate remidal program provided, the deterioration in school conditions would reach a breaking point.

He said: "To the extent that [our school officials] have neglected this real problem, while shouting stridently about 'subversives,' they have given a weapon to those who seek to exploit the situation for an attack on the very concept of public education."

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Carnegie Hall, 57th St. & 7th Av.
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Bosley Crowther, N.Y. TIMES

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Archer Winsten, N.Y. POST

"AROUSES SYMPATHY IN THE BEHOLDER"
Kate Cameron, DAILY NEWS

THE MOVIE CRAFTSMANSHIP IS EXCELLENT... SEVERE BEAUTY...ENORMOUS AFFECTION AND SYMPATHY..."
Otis Guernsey, Jr., N.Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

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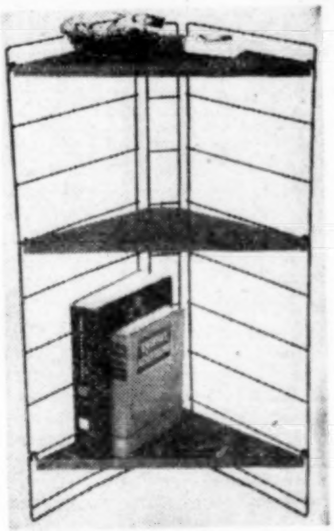

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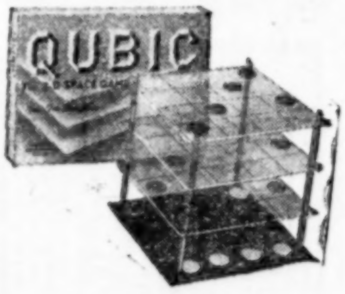

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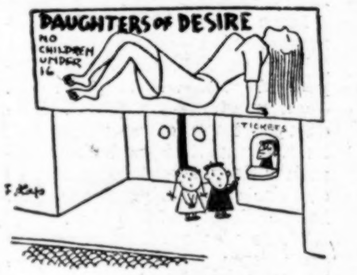
the SPECTATOR

The truth was a little too salty

SALT OF THE EARTH opened in New York smack in the middle of Murrow-McCarthy week, so the shouts were ringing in movie critics' ears when they approached the job of reviewing the film. Acquainted with the production's history of harassment, they all agreed that the picture had the right to be seen and judged by the public. They resented the slippery boycott imposed by the projectionists who happened to frown on the film's content and its sponsors. In short, the press had a frame of reference.

Yet once the lights were dimmed and the titles appeared on the screen, the reviewers began looking through the lower halves of their mental bi-focals. Facts about unions, picketing and company towns turned into fiction for them; recorded events became subjects for opinion, like the acting, dialogue or photography.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"We only came to see the newsreel of the Berlin Conference."

They were moved by the story and the performances, but rejected the idea that this was a reflection of American reality. They cried: "It doesn't happen here! Not much, anyway." The **Herald Tribune's** Otis Guernsey Jr. was irritated by a scene showing police "trying to plow through a women's picket line." Only this was truth, not lopsided screenwriting.

Archer Winsten of the **Post** gently demurred: "One doesn't hear of injunctions against picketing so much any more, or evictions from company property." And the **Variety** man, Hift, wrote: "This is reminiscent of the social problems pix Hollywood used to put out in the thirties and which since then have gone out of vogue. . . . It is hard to believe that the situation . . . could exist in a vacuum, without the influence of public opinion and the attention of the U. S. Bureau of Mines."

NO ONE EXPECTED the reviewers to bone up on the LaFollette Senate report on violence against labor, Carey McWilliams' books on the Southwest and the latest Taft-Hartley casualty list. However, the serious intent of **Salt of the Earth** called for more than "I don't know much about politics, but I know what I like."

A movie critic can yawn through a Marilyn Monroe sweater parade or a spy-thigh melodrama and report the event without special knowledge or respect. A box score would serve as well. These pictures are made solely for profit, and that motive is never questioned. However, in delving into **Salt of the Earth, Variety's** Hift writes petulantly: "This kind of black and white treatment seems oddly out of place and makes suspect the purposes of [Paul] Jarrico and Herbert J. Biberman, the director, in tackling the subject in the first place."

Salt of the Earth opened at a second theater—the New Dyckman, 207th St., east of Broadway—in Manhattan on March 26. It is attracting record crowds at the 86th St. Grande, east of Lexington, where it opened March 15.

In this case the critics not only assumed the burden of appraising the theatrical worth of the movie. They speculated on the validity of the theme, the views and motives of the makers, and the possible consequences to the reputation of our nation if the film is shown abroad.

THE CRITICS HAVE THE RIGHT, of course, to stamp as "propaganda" a work based on the belief that the bitter struggle between mine owners and workers did not go out of fashion when Hollywood changed to a suit of armor. Whether **Salt of the Earth** is "slanted" or "loaded" is not the point. If it were "slanted" or "loaded" as most movies are—if trade unionists and women were portrayed as politely subservient consumers whose troubles are settled by Wise Men—the objections would be removed. The conflict between the husband and his wife could be resolved in the Hollywood way—by a trip to the beauty parlor or a visit to the analyst or the obstetrician. And the labor-management problem could be ironed out in a rousing speech by the president of the local to the effect that the strike was all a mammoth red plot.

Naturally **Salt of the Earth** will remain what it is. But, released abroad, will it damage us any worse than McCarthyism, the execution of the Rosenbergs or the Dulles Declaration of Undeclared War by massive retaliation?

The objectors don't really fear a false impression. They're afraid that millions in other parts of the world may realize that there is a flesh-and-blood progressive force in America which will not be downed.

• • • •

P. S.: The Spectator agrees with Herbert Crosswaithe (Mailbag, 3/22) that **The Madwoman of Chaillot** should have been high on the list of off-Broadway productions and regrets the oversight. The production and the acting were remarkable indeed, with an especially fine performance by Karen Morley.

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